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A SYRIAC VALENTINIAN HYMN

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EPIPHANIUS prefixes to the account of the Valentinians which he copied from Irenaeus a brief account of his own composition, presumably based upon a document then in his hands, and subjoins a copy of a portion of this document. It is of peculiar interest as being one of the very few scraps of Valentinian literature that have survived and the only one that deals at any length with the essential features of the system. Yet it has been strangely ignored by modern students of Gnosticism; indeed the only recent study of it known to me is that of Otto Dibelius (*Studien zur Geschichte der Valentinianer: II. Der Valentinianische Sendbrief*, in *ZNTW* 9 (1908), p. 329-340), in which he provides a translation of the very difficult text with a brief discussion of the doctrine and of its place in the history of Valentinianism.

The anonymous author gives a list of the Greek names of the thirty Aeons differing somewhat from those preserved by Irenaeus (1. 1. 2-3; p. 8-11) and Hippolytus (6. 29-30).¹ The document concludes with a series of words, written in Greek letters but not Greek in form, which Epiphanius supposed to be the original names of the Aeons, the Greek names being translations of these. His statement seems not to have been questioned by any one until the appearance of Holl's edition of the *Panarion*. In a footnote (p. 385) Holl says:—

The language of the fragment is Aramaic with Jewish coloring, but the forms of the several words are so corrupted that a complete reconstruction seems impossible. J. Marquart and H. Gressmann think, however, that they are able to recognize with approximate certainty that 'Arap (l. 'Aγap)

¹ References to 'Irenaeus,' 'Hippolytus,' 'Epiphanius' signify the *adversus Haereses*, the *Refutatio*, and the *Panarion*. Quotations from the Greek text of Irenaeus and Epiphanius follow the text of Karl Holl's new edition (1915), *Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 25, pt. 1: *Epiphanius*, vol. 1, but references to the *adv. Haer.*, unless otherwise indicated, are to Massuet's paragraphs and the pages of Harvey's first volume. Quotations from Hippolytus follow the text of Duncker and Schneidewin.

The text proves to be a fragment of a Syriac poem consisting of stanzas composed of eight verses, each of five or six syllables. One complete stanza and seven verses of a second still remain. The poem was a Valentinian hymn, and, of the two stanzas, the first celebrates the deeds of the 'Celestial Light' and the second those of the 'Celestial Firmament.'

αλλώϊο νούρα αυ	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	That Celestial Light
βουκούλθαρ αουό ου	ܟܠܐ ܠܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	Came to be in every Place,
ουβουκούλθαρ δέδδερη	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	And in every Place in which
μερέξα αταβ βάββα	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	he was diffused,
		From the Head he pro-
		claimed tidings about the
		Father,
5 ουάουουα χέσδην	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	And he showed kindness
λαδώνη έσσουμην	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	To the Aeons, contending,
ουανάνιν λαμέρτα	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	And mercies to the Lady
δεάθα μεσσουλάϊν	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	Who came from Rejected
		Ones.
αλλώϊο αρουκία	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	The Celestial Firmament
10 θάαμ λαάριαν	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	Restrained strife
λαάλμω ώρην	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	Among the Ages, quarreling ;
δανάφεκ ουα άνφεκ	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	That which was going out he
		expelled ;
ένφει βοχεράθα	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	The Sprays bringing forth
		first fruits
άσσι ουαχεβέλιμ	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	He healed, and [any?] cor-
		rupted ones
15 δεξάρι χέμμασειν	ܟܠܐ ܠܝܫܐܢܐ	Which were beginning to
		wither

NOTES²

The MS tradition is surprisingly accurate. The original text was written with great care, the author endeavoring to express the exact sounds as he heard them without reference to any customary system of phonetic equivalents, and the greater number of the corruptions can be explained as due to resemblances between the letters of the uncial script. I have therefore in

² My friend the Editor, Prof. J. A. Montgomery, has been so kind as to read these notes, making a few corrections and adding a number of valuable suggestions.

several cases retained the spelling of the MSS even when it is difficult to explain and interpret and when simple emendations would remove the difficulties.

v. 1, 9: $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota\omicron$: the corrupt forms AMΨIO and AAAΩP correspond almost stroke for stroke, although the identification of Ψ and Ω is questionable. For the doubled -λ- see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* 2d ed., p. 13: 'Als verdoppelt hat so ziemlich jeder Consonant zu gelten, dem ein kurzer Vocal vorhergeht und irgend ein Vocal folgt.' The *a*-sound is expressed by *o* in this word and in v. 2 $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ but not elsewhere; by ω in v. 6 $\lambda\alpha\delta\omega\iota\eta$, v. 11 $\omega\rho\eta\eta$ and perhaps v. 11 $\lambda\alpha\alpha\lambda\mu\omega$. The -ι- is consonantal here and in v. 10 $\lambda\alpha\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\nu$; elsewhere it is a vowel.

v. 1-2: $\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$ *av*: this represents the readings of the majority of the texts and gives the better sense; the demonstrative implies that the author expects his readers to understand what is meant by the 'Celestial Light.' But the meter requires that in reading the final -a of $\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$ be elided. The pronunciation, therefore, would be the same as that of the alternative reading $\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu$ which would represent ܢܘܪܐܢ , in which the ܐܢ is the enclitic pronoun, emphasizing the preceding word. But in v. 2 the *ov* repeats the subject.

v. 2, 3: -βου-: v. 8, -σου-: v. 9, -ρουν-: in the Palestinian dialects of Aramaic the Syriac *šwa* is not infrequently represented by ܐ , e. g. ܥܘܒܪܐ , ܩܘܪܝܐ , ܚܘܠܐ (Duval, *Gr.* p. 90, n. 3; Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 22 (1868), p. 458-9).

v. 2: $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ *ov*: all texts save one have $\delta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\omicron$, which should represent ܕܐܘܐܢܐ . But for this construction there seems to be no authority; moreover it would offend against both the meter and the thought of the verse, for ' ܐܘܐܢܐ ' ܐܘܐܢܐ is not a permissible form and the sense requires a past tense. M2 has $\delta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ and I have ventured to take this as evidence of the loss of an -o-.

v. 3: *ov* -: in view of the care with which vocalic *šwa* is throughout represented by some Greek vowel, this *ov*- must be regarded as a vowel, analogous to the Hebrew idiom (Dalman, *Gram.* p. 191: 'According to Socin's Codex 84 of Targum Onkelos, ܐ is always pronounced ܐ before ܕ , ܒ , ܦ , and before non-gutturals except ' if they have *š'wa*, which then disappears,' i. e. is silent). So also v. 5: $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ܐܘܪܐܢܐ . But v. 7, $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ may represent either ܐܘܪܐܢܐ or ܐܘܪܐܢܐ .

the assimilation takes place except when the consonant is Alaf, He, Heth, Yodh, Nun, 'E, Pe. The failure to double the ρ is also according to rule (Noeld., § 21). But $\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$ for $\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\beta$ requires explanation. The use of α for ϵ probably merely indicates that the vowel-sound was obscure; still more surprising is the appearance of α in place of an ι or η in v. 6, $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\alpha$ for $\mu\epsilon\mu$. The same inference may be drawn from the spellings of some words in the Jewish Palestinian dialect e. g. *Pa.* שְׁלֹם ; *Aph.* אספֿק , אקרם , אחשר , of which Dalman remarks (p. 206, n. 2): 'Whether one may infer pronunciation with α from spelling without Yodh remains uncertain. The supralinear vocalisation recognizes this pronunciation only in case of gutturals.'

The failure to double the τ is a much more serious matter. In every other case where Syriac requires that a letter be doubled in pronunciation the doubling is scrupulously indicated, e. g. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota\omicron$, $\delta\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\eta$, $\beta\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$, $\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\alpha$, $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\tilde{\nu}$, $\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$, not to speak of its being indicated where not called for in Syriac, $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$, $\chi\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$. Its omission here is probably due to the structure of the verse, which permits only two accents and requires the elision of either the final syllable of $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha$ or the first of $\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$. Thus the two words were pronounced as one with but one accent, $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$. Since the doubling of the τ is not organic but is due to the presence of the accent upon the 'weak' prefix (Duval, §§ 113, 157) the loss of the accent should entail the omission of the doubling.

v. 4: $\beta\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$: Duval, § 224a: 'Dans le sens figuré de "père spirituel" ܐܠܐ avait le beth redoublé.' For the construction, cf. PS (*Thes.* col. 432): $\text{ܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ}$ de eo BO III, 2, 208; rogavit eum [quid sentiret] ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ de religione Arabum, ib. II, 423.'

v. 5: Holl, at Marquart's suggestion, recognizes the duplication of this line (see p. 3) as due to a marginal gloss. The dittograph which he brackets contains, however, the purer text.

v. 5: $\chi\epsilon\sigma\delta\eta\tilde{\nu}$: Heth occurs seven times. Twice, in this word and v. 14, $\chi\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\mu$, it is represented by χ ; four times, v. 4, $\omicron\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\alpha$, v. 7, $\omicron\alpha\alpha\eta\alpha\tilde{\nu}$, v. 10, $\theta\alpha\alpha\mu$ and $\lambda\alpha\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\tilde{\nu}$, by hiatus; once, v. 6, when initial, it has no representative, $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$. The m. pl. abs. occurs seven times; in six cases the ending is obviously ܐܝܢ , although spelled in four ways (v. 5, 11, $\text{-}\eta\tilde{\nu}$; v. 6, $\text{-}\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$; v. 7,

8, -ω; v. 15, -ειν); the sole exception, v. 14, -μ, is probably due to textual corruption and is not recognized in the transliteration.

v. 6: Holl and Marquart bracket the words ΑΜΦΑΙΝ ΕΣΣΟΥΜΕΝ as a gloss upon ΑΘΑ ΜΕΣΣΟΥΜΕΝ.

v. 6: λαδωνη: 'E occurs five times. Twice, v. 1, 9, αλλωω, v. 13, ενφει, as initial it is unrepresented; twice, v. 9, αρουκια, v. 11 λααλωω, it is represented by hiatus. In λαδωνη it disappears altogether, allowing the vowels between which it stood to contract. This indicates that it had here its softer sound, approximating that of Alaf, and this, again, is confirmed by the Palestinian Aramaic words אַדְיִין, אַדְיִין, which contain the same root (Dalman, p. 70).

v. 6: εσσουνμεν: there are three occurrences of the *Pe. act. part. in. pl. abs.*, the others being v. 11, ωρην and v. 15 χεμμασειν. The *f. pl. emph.* occurs once, v. 13, βοχεραθα. In the three which come from trilateral roots the šwa, which would be silent in Syriac (Duval, *Gr.* § 100), is expressed by -ου-, -α-, -ε-. This is not a case of negligence but represents an earlier pronunciation, still found in the Aramaic of the Onkelos MS, Cod. Socin 84, the pointing of which indicates that in such inflected forms of the participle the second radical was pronounced with a semi-vowel (Dalman, *Gram.* p. 55-56). For the doubling of the second radical in these participial forms there seems to be no direct parallel. Since the short, closed syllables followed by vocalic šwa εσ-σουνμεν, χέμ-μασειν are equivalent in value to the corresponding long open syllables ά-σουνμεν, χά-μασειν, it may be that the former spellings represent merely peculiarities in pronunciation on the part of the transcriber.

v. 7-8: λαμερτα δεαθα: these words present several difficulties. If, -μερτα be a feminine noun -αθα should be -αθαθ. But the only masculine noun corresponding to -μερτα لَمَرْتَا yields no sense (PS *Lex.* 'the plucking out, pulling off' of hair or feathers; 'baldness; plumes, fine apparel'). If a feminine it corresponds most closely to لَمَرْتَا (*op. cit.*: 'bitterness, gall, bile'). This also yields no sense. The preceding words, 'showed mercies to,' indicate that the complementary idea must be that of a person; and لَمَرْتَا 'Lady,' gives just the meaning required, for this 'Lady' is of course the fallen Sophia of the Valentinians. To

this identification several objections present themselves. (1) The first vowel of the word ܙܩܦܐ is *Zqafa*, which was pronounced by the Nestorians as \bar{a} , by the Jacobites as \bar{o} . It may be alleged that, while a short \check{a} (*Pthakha*) often passes into *e* in Syriac, a long \bar{a} (*Zqafa*) never does. Moreover, the word occurs in Greek letters elsewhere, e. g. in the NT, as the proper name, Μαρθα, which shows that the first vowel was an *a*, although it leaves its quantity undetermined. (2) The usual equivalent of Taw is θ , as in Μαρθα; τ ought to represent Teth. As regards the first objection: the history of vowel-change, both in quantity and quality, in Syriac, is involved in such obscurity that the rules of the grammarians can seldom be regarded as authoritative. Even the grammarians themselves often cannot agree upon fundamental issues. Thus Duval teaches that distinctions of quantity have been virtually so merged into those of quality as to have lost all significance (p. 44). Nöldeke is more cautious; he does not deny the existence of vowel-quantity in Syriac, but he does deny that the utterances of the Syrian grammarians on the subject are entitled to any weight (*Syr. Gram.* p. 9). David lays strong emphasis on the quantity of vowels (p. 185 f), and intimates in a footnote (p. 192) that the blunders of Duval, Nöldeke, and other European Orientalists are due to their ignorance of the proper pronunciation of the Oriental languages. His own treatment of the subject is neither clear nor consistent, but apparently he recognizes in the Nestorian pronunciation no difference in quality between *Pthakha* and *Zqafa* but only in quantity, while among the Jacobites they differ in quality, as *a* from *o*, and each may be either long or short.

Similar differences of opinion are found with reference to the question now at issue, namely the quantity of the 'long' vowel in a closed syllable. David says (p. 209) that at the present time both Jacobites and Nestorians make such a vowel short (*mörta*, *mārta*); Nöldeke (p. 29) attributes this tendency to the Nestorians, and Barhebraeus bears witness that in the 13th century the same confusion was prevalent among them. Duval cannot admit Barhebraeus's evidence, which is fatal to his own theory, and is driven to the desperate expedient of assuming that, with the exception of a few cases, (p. 77) 'c'est son oreille qui est en défaut et son raisonnement qui est mauvais, car les nuances de \acute{a} et \grave{a} étaient parfaitement sensibles,

en dehors même du redoublement.’ In general, (p. 92) ‘ce serait une erreur de croire . . . que les Syriens abrégèrent la voyelle dans une syllabe fermée . . . Il y avait . . . plutôt là une oscillation entre les sons clairs et les sons obscurs.’

These differences of opinion are due in part to the fact that the vowel-points introduced in the 8th century do not adequately represent the sounds of the language and in part to the fact that the sounds which they do represent cannot be reduced to a coherent system. Yet they are themselves intended to simplify and standardize current pronunciation. They cannot therefore afford conclusive evidence as to the pronunciation of a period long anterior to that in which they were adopted. The evidence of the new fragment confirms this inference. Setting aside the question as to the precise phonetic values of the Greek letters at the time when and the place where the transcription was made, it manifestly does not bear witness to the simple and rigid scheme of the 8th century grammarians. The *u*-sounds are represented by *ou*, the *i*- and *e*-sounds by *ε*, *ι*, *ει*, *η*, seemingly without distinction; even the long, accented *i* of the pass. part. has *ε* (χεβέλιμ). Twice *e* appears as *a* (αριαν, αλλωιο). *Pthakha* is generally *a* but once *ε* (ενφει). *Zqafa* seems to possess the least stability. Usually it is *a*, but twice *ω* (αλλωιο, ωρην) [thrice ? αλω], twice *ο* (αλλωιο, βοχεραθα) [thrice ? αου], twice *ε* followed by a doubled consonant (εσσονμεν, χεμμασειν). Vocalic *šwa* is *ou*, *a*, *ε*. The bearing of these facts upon the problems of Syriac phonetics I must leave to those more competent to judge, for the subject lies far outside my proper field. But this, at least, one may infer—the fact that the grammarians of the 8th century pointed مَرْدَا with *Zqafa* does not prove that the tendency to pronounce it *mārta*, which has been present from the 13th century to the present day among the Nestorians, originated after the pointing was adopted. It may well, indeed, have been found in some dialects many centuries earlier. The change of *a* to *e* in a closed syllable is very common in Syriac. Duval asserts (p. 79) that it never takes place when the syllable is closed by a guttural or an *r*. That it sometimes does is shown by the first word of the phrase مَرْدَا يَؤْمَا *mārde yawma*, which is so pronounced by the Nestorians while to the Jacobites it is *mērde*. One should also note that in the two occurrences of vocalic *šwa* before *r* in the poem it is

expressed by ϵ ($\delta\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\eta$, $\beta\omicron\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\theta\alpha$) which shows that the author is not conscious of any especial preference for an a -sound before r .

The use of τ for Taw may be explained on similar principles. The author, as his practice elsewhere shows, is not following any accepted system of transliteration, and it may well be that τ rather than θ expressed to his ear the sound of the hard, non-aspirated Taw in ܬܐܬܐ.

If $-\mu\epsilon\rho\tau\alpha$ means 'lady,' $-a\theta a$ should probably be emended into $-a\theta a < \theta >$. But forms without the final Taw occur in Babylonian Aramaic; those, for example, of ܐܬܐ are given by Levias (*A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1900, § 601) as ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, and $-a\theta a$, therefore, is not absolutely impossible.

v. 8: $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$: one is tempted to emend $-\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$ into the classical Syriac word ܥܘܠܐ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$, which is derived from the Lamadh-Alaf root ܥܠ, or into $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\nu$, which would be derived from the same root treated as Lamadh-Yodh. The meaning of both would be the same, 'dross, dirt, refuse'—a singularly apt designation, from the Valentinian point of view, of the results of sin in the Pleroma. Yet, as I try to show in the commentary (p. 26) $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$ gives the passage a meaning for which indirect support can be found in extant sources. In classical Syriac the *Peal* pass. part. m. pl. abs. would be ܥܠܐ, but forms analogous to that of the text occur in Babylonian Aramaic (Levias, § 560, ܥܠܐ, ܥܠܐ, ܥܠܐ) and also in Biblical Aramaic (Kautzsch, p. 80E).

v. 11: $\lambda\alpha\alpha\lambda\mu\omega$: the $-\omega$ is probably due to corruption of $-\epsilon$ or $-\epsilon\iota$ but possibly represents a transition form between the primitive ܠܡܬܐ and the classical ܠܡܬܐ, such as $-a$ or $-ai$, assimilated in quality to the following ω . Compare the Babylonian spelling ܠܡܬܐ, ܠܡܬܐ which Levias (§ 989a) points ܠܡܬܐ, ܠܡܬܐ. Instead of $\lambda\alpha\alpha\lambda\mu\omega$, $\delta\alpha\alpha\lambda\mu\omega$ might be read.

v. 11: $\omega\rho\eta\nu$; v. 15: $-\xi\alpha\rho\iota$: for the failure to double $-\rho$ - see Nöldeke, *Gram.* § 21.

v. 12: $\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\kappa\ \omicron\nu\alpha$: the imperfect tense compounded of the present participle and the enclitic ܐܢ sometimes expresses an act or event regarded from a point of view in the past as imminent (Nöldeke, *Gram.* p. 208). It is in this sense that the form must here be taken (see the commentary, p. 26).

v. 12: *ανφεκ*: in Babylonian Aramaic, according to Levias (§ 374), the 𐤀 frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals, emphatic consonants, sibilants, 𐤁, 𐤅 and 𐤆. The -φ- probably represents the unaspirated Syriac *p*, which was much less emphatic than the Greek *π*.

v. 13: *ενφει*: the word may also be transliterated ܥܢܦܝ *πρόσωπα*, 'Personalities,' and this also makes fairly satisfactory sense. But in view of the participle *βοχεραθα* the proposed reading is preferable, for 'bearing first fruits' is an attribute appropriate to sprays but not to personalities.


v. 13: *βοχεραθα*: both MSS have Υ for Θ in the first list (VM), P in the second (V1M1), and PP in the third (V2M2). This shows that both are descended from a common archetype in which the same name was written in three different ways, which, again, proves that the scribe of that archetype copied faithfully what he thought he saw before him without trying to correct one list by another. The error perhaps arose in the first copy, probably made by a professional scribe, from Epi-phanius's—presumably cursive—autograph.

v. 14: *χεβέλιμ*: is quite certainly the passive participle. The active, ܚܒܠܝܡ would mean 'in travail' which is not appropriate to sprays; moreover, judging from the analogy of *εσσομεν* and *χεμμασειν*, it would be spelled *χέββελιμ*.

v. 15: *δεξαρι*: The representation of Šin by ξ, here and v. 4 -*ρεξα*, is, so far as I can learn, not found elsewhere. The 3. m. pl. ending ܐ is not represented. This may indicate that it was not pronounced at all or that it was a consonantal *w* which could not be represented in Greek letters. The latter is the view of Duval (p. 55: 'à défaut de preuves contraires, on devra s'en tenir à la prononciation reçue *ew*, *iw*') and of David, whose opinion, as being *orientalis homo* (p. 189), is of especial interest (p. 189: 'Veras diphthongos non habent Syri, sed cum jodh et waw apud eos sunt verae consonantes, lingua Syriaca syllabas habet quarum consonans finalis est jodh vel waw . . . in quibus . . . secunda littera non est vocalis sed consonans'). Nöldeke takes the former view (*Gram. Syr.* p. 26: 'ο und υ sind beide viel zu vocalisch, als dass sie im Auslaut einer Silbe wahre Consonanten sein könnten; sie bilden dann stets einfache Vocale oder Diphthonge, also . . . *galliu* [nicht *galliw*], etc.').

The syntax of the poem presents nothing worthy of note except the rather free use of the case absolute, which is such as to suggest that it has not as yet lost its proper meaning. The conceptions which are unquestionably clearly defined to the reader are all in the emphatic **حَدِّهَا إِذَا هِيَ**, **حَدِّهَا**, **حَدِّهَا**. Three which ought to be indefinite are in the absolute **سَمِيحٌ**, **سَلِيلٌ**, **سَمِيحٌ**. Two which might be conceived as defined are in the absolute **سَلِيلٌ** and **سَمِيحٌ** both of which designate the same things. Whether the use of the absolute here has any significance, throwing the concepts in question out of the focus of consciousness into the margin, so to speak, it is not possible to determine. So also of the active participles. Two of the three, **حَدِّهَا إِذَا هِيَ** and **حَدِّهَا** should, according to rule, be taken as predicates, equivalent to **سَمِيحٌ**, **سَلِيلٌ** which I have indicated in translation by placing a comma between them and the nouns they modify, but the third, **حَدِّهَا** which seems to be a parallel construction, tends to discredit this inference and to indicate that there is no real difference of meaning between the two cases. The choice between them may be determined by other factors, possibly metric or euphonic, the value of which we cannot appreciate.

Each verse contains two accented and three or four unaccented syllables. Vocalic *šwa* belonging to the word proper is not counted as a syllable: following the prefixes ٲ it may or may not be, seemingly at pleasure. The metre corresponds to that termed by Grimme 'Grundform 2' (*Collectanea Friburgensia*, Fasc. II, *Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrers*, 1893, p. 5), but differs from it in that the rhythmic scheme which Grimme regards as fundamental, that is, as most frequent, 'uuu', occurs five times only (v. 2, 8, 10, 13, 14); that which he makes an infrequent substitute u'uu'u occurs twice (v. 4, 12), while the eight remaining verses (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15) fall under the second of his other two substitutes u'u'u. Of the fourth scheme, 'uuuu', no example occurs.

Each verse contains five or six syllables. If the final syllable of  in v. 9 be elided, the numerical scheme for the first stanza would be 55565556, and for the second, 5556555, from which one may infer that the missing last verse of the stanza also contained six syllables and that the scheme for the first is that for all the stanzas of the poem. While this scheme is not found among Ephraem's poems (see Lamy's revised list in his *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, vol. 4, Mechlin, 1902, p. 486-495), it is of the type used by him and other Syrian poets.³

COMMENTARY

Both stanzas deal with the same theme, the reconstitution of the Pleroma after its harmony had been destroyed by the appearance of sin within its borders. The first recounts the deeds of the Celestial Light, the second those of the Celestial Firmament, in this work of restoration.

Of this scene three more or less complete versions are extant. Irenaeus gives two (1. 2, § 1-2, p. 13-16; § 3-6, p. 16-23), intimating that the second is derived from a different source than the first (p. 16: *ἐνοι δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτως τὸ πάθος τῆς Σοφίας καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν μυθολογοῦσιν*), and Hippolytus the third (6. 31, p. 274-278). A few incidents, some of which belong to other versions than the above, may be gleaned from other passages in Irenaeus and from Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto etc.* Nearly all the incidents to which the Syriac text alludes can be identified in one or another of the extant sources, but as a whole the system presupposed by the poem does not correspond to any Valentinian system hitherto recognized.

³ I classify the poem's structure in accordance with both of the rival theories as to the nature of Syriac verse because, in my opinion, no issue is raised between them. The fact that Syrian grammarians, and Syrian poets also, recognized in poetry only one formal principle—that of the number of syllables in a line—does not prove that no others were in use any more than the theories of those English prosodists who see in English verse no other rhythms than those formed by the sequence of accented and unaccented syllables prove that English poets are deaf to the subtle harmonies of quantities, consonantal qualities, assonances, pauses, and cadences. An English or German ear, accustomed to stress-rhythms, cannot doubt that they are present in Syriac poetry, even though the grammarians have not formulated the laws which govern them.


The 'Celestial Light,' or, more literally, the 'Light on High,' is that stream of revivifying spiritual consciousness which was emanated by the Father, the Abyss, in order to repair the ravages wrought by sin in the Pleroma. It is not mentioned in Irenaeus's first source; in his second and in that used by Hippolytus, its first manifestation is termed 'Christ-Holy Spirit.' It—or, more properly, he—is of course light, as are all spiritual beings, but at least some Valentinians called him 'Light' in a peculiar sense. Epiphanius, in his preliminary account, says (31. 4. 4; p. 388, 8 Holl; vol. 2, p. 140, Dindorf): ὃν δὲ [sc. Αἰῶνα] Σωτῆρα καλεῖν . . . εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πατρωνυμικῶς καλεῖσθαι Φῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνω Φῶς, and Irenaeus's language seems to be based upon similar terminology (1. 4. 1; p. 33): παραντίκα δὲ [sc. τὴν Σοφίαν] κενωθείσαν τοῦ . . . Χριστοῦ, ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός. Epiphanius's τὸ ἄνω φῶς is the precise equivalent of the term which I render 'The Celestial Light.'

The Celestial Light 'came to be in every Place.' 'Place' among the later Gnostics meant 'region' or 'Plane' of the spiritual world and every such 'region' is itself a spiritual being or angel (Iren. 1. 5. 2; p. 44: τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανούς εἶναι νοερούς [νοητούς Holl] φασιν· ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται). But, since at the period to which the poem refers the Light had not as yet reached every region of the lower universe, the term here probably signifies the 'regions' of the Pleroma, that is, the Aeons. It is in this sense that it is used by Marcus (Iren. 1. 14. 1; p. 128): αὐτὴν τὴν παννπερτάτην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τῶν Τετράδα κατεληλυθέναι σχήματι γυναικείῳ πρὸς αὐτόν (φησι).

v. 3-4. The 'Head' is the first emanation of the Abyss, usually called Νοῦς or Μονογενής, but often Πατήρ or Ἀρχή (of which latter word the Syriac ܐܪܚܝܬ is an appropriate translation), because from him all the other Aeons are derived: (Iren. 1. 1. 1; p. 9) τὸν δὲ Νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ Μονογενῆ καλοῦσι καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων; (1. 8. 5; p. 75, transcribed from a Valentinian Commentary upon the prologue to St. John's Gospel) Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν τὴν τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν, καθ' ἣν τὰ πάντα προέβαλεν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑποτίθεται τὸ πρῶτον γεννηθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ δὲ καὶ υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ θεὸν κέκληκεν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα ὁ Πατήρ προέβαλε σπερματικῶς.

It was 'from the Head' that the Light proclaimed tidings, for, being himself an emanation of Noûs, who alone knew the Father, he derived from him all that he proclaimed to the Aeons. But even this was not knowledge of the Father but only knowledge about him, namely, that he is unknowable: (Iren. 1. 2. 5; p. 21)

... τὸν Μονογενῆ πάλιν ἑτέραν προβαλέσθαι συζυγίαν κατὰ προμήθειαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἵνα μὴ ὁμοίως ταύτῃ πάθῃ τις τῶν Αἰώνων, Χριστὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς πῆξιν καὶ στηριγμὸν τοῦ Πληρώματος, ὅφ' ὧν καταρτισθῆναι <φασιν> τοὺς Αἰῶνας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν διδάξαι αὐτοὺς συζυγίας φύσιν,† ἀγεννήτου κατάληψιν γινώσκοντας ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἀναγορευσαί τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, ὅτι τε ἀχώρητος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκατάληπτος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἰδεῖν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἢ διὰ μόνου τοῦ Μονογενοῦς γινώσκεται. . . . τὸ δὲ [ἐν] Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξισωθέντας αὐτοὺς πάντας εὐχαριστεῖν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν <εἰς> ἡγήσατο.

v. 5-8. The 'kindness' which the Celestial Light showed the Aeons consisted in bringing them these tidings about the Father. The significance of the word 'contending' will be discussed later. The 'Lady who came from Rejected Ones' corresponds to the second Sophia or Achamoth of Irenaeus, called by Hippolytus (p. 282, 44) ἡ ἔξω Σοφία, who was composed of the ἔκτρομα or 'abortive offspring' of the first Sophia, or, as the Valentinians also called it, the first Sophia's ὑστέρημα or 'shortcoming'—that by which she fell short of attaining to the knowledge of the Father. While  does not reproduce the idea of either ἔκτρομα or ὑστέρημα, it is an appropriate designation for the dark mass of Ignorance which had been rejected and expelled from the Pleroma, as I shall presently endeavor to show. To Achamoth, Christ-Holy Spirit 'showed mercies,' for he took pity upon her wretched state and came to her from the Pleroma in order to give her some glimmering of an idea of the glory from which she had been cast out and to inspire in her a desire to return: (Iren. 1. 4. 1; p. 31) τὴν Ἐνθύμησιν τῆς ἁνῶ Σοφίας, ἣν καὶ Ἀχαμῶθ καλοῦσιν, ἀφορισθεῖσαν τοῦ <ἁν> Πληρώματος σὺν τῷ πάθει λέγουσιν ἐν σκιᾷ καὶ κενώματος τόποις ἐκβεβράσθαι κατὰ ἀνάγκην· ἔξω γὰρ φωτὸς ἐγένετο καὶ Πληρώματος, ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος ὥσπερ ἔκτρομα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν κατεληφέναι. οἰκτείραντα δὲ αὐτὴν τὸν <ἁν> Χριστὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἐπεκταθέντα τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει μορφῶσαι μόρφωσιν, τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν μόνον ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν κατὰ γνῶσιν· καὶ πράξαντα τοῦτο ἀναδραμεῖν, συστείλαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ καταλι-

πεῖν <αὐτήν>, ὅπως αἰσθομένη τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθους διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ Πληρώματος ὀρεχθῇ τῶν διαφερόντων, ἔχουσά τινα ὁδμὴν ἀφθαρσίας ἐγκαταλειφθείσαν αὐτῇ <ὑπὸ> τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Compare also Hippolytus, 6. 31; p. 276, 50—278, 61.

The 'Celestial Firmament' or 'Firmament on High' is the 'Όρος, 'Boundary,' or Σταυρός, 'Stake' or 'Cross' of the Valentinians. To the Firmament four functions are ascribed in the poem:—

- (1) He restrained strife among the Aeons.
- (2) He expelled that which was going out, or about to go out.
- (3) He healed the Sprays bearing their firstfruits.
- (4) The corrupted ones, which were beginning to wither, he
—— (the verb is lacking).

Of the Valentinian conceptions of Horus four chief versions are extant, that of Valentinus himself, those of Irenaeus's two sources, and that given by Hippolytus.

Valentinus recognized two Όροι, one between the Pleroma and the Abyss and the other that which separates the fallen Sophia from the Pleroma (Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 100): Όρους τε δύο ὑπέθετο, ἓνα μὲν μεταξὺ τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Πληρώματος, διορίζοντα τοὺς γεν<ν>ητοὺς Αἰῶνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεν<ν>ήτου Πατρός, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἀφορίζοντα αὐτῶν τὴν Μητέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος.

In Irenaeus's first source Horus is the boundary of the Pleroma. Sophia's sin consisted in seeking to know more of the Father than he had willed to have known; this is symbolized by describing her, that is to say her Thought or Intention (ἐνθύμησις), as striving to go out beyond the limits of the Pleroma and to penetrate into the very depths of the Abyss. Her presumptuous attempt was frustrated by Horus whose function it is to assure the stability of the universe by keeping it 'outside of' the Ineffable Vastness.

Iren. 1. 2. 2; p. 13-15) π ρ ο ῡ ῥ ὁ ῥ ὁ δὲ π ο λ ῦ ὁ [ὁ πολὺ Holl] τελευταῖος καὶ νεώτατος τῆς δωδεκάδος τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προβεβλημένης Αἰὼν τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία καὶ ἔπαθε πάθος ἀνευ τῆς ἐπιπολοκῆς τοῦ <συ> ζύγου τοῦ Θελητοῦ, ὃ ἐνῆρξάτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν ἀπέσκηψε δὲ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν παρατραπέντα, προφάσει μὲν ἀγάπης τὸλμης [1. τὸλμη Holl, τὸλμη N.] δέ, διὰ τὸ μὴ κεκοινωνῆσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ τελείῳ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Νοῦς. τὸ δὲ πάθος εἶναι ζητήσιν τοῦ Πατρός· ἤθελε γάρ, ὡς λέγουσι, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν. ἔπειτα μὴ δυνηθέντα διὰ τὸ

ἀδυνάτῳ ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγματι καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πάνν ἀγῶνι γενόμενον
 ἐκτεινόμενον αἰ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ τῆς γλυκύτητος τελευταῖον
 ἂν καταπεπόσθαι καὶ ἀναλεύσθαι εἰς τὴν ὄλην οὐσίαν, εἰ μὴ τῇ στηρι-
 ζούσῃ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους φυλασ-
 σούη τὰ ὅλα συνένυχε δυνάμει. ταύτην δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
 "Ὁρον καλοῦσιν, ὑφ' ἧς ἐπεσχῆσθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι καὶ μόγις ἐπιστρέψαντα
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πεισθέντα, ὅτι ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν
 προτέραν ἐνθύμησιν σὺν τῷ ἐπιγενομένῳ πάθει ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπλήκτου ἐκείνου θαύ-
 ματος.

Irenaeus's second source does not describe Sophia's effort to penetrate into the Abyss as being frustrated by Horus; it fails because she has attempted an impossible task, and results in the production of a shapeless embryo; filled with distress, fear, agitation, and perplexity she turns to the Father for relief and the other Aeons join in her prayer. In reply the Father emanates Horus to remove the cause of the disorder in the Pleroma and thus to settle, re-establish and 'heal' not only Sophia but all the other Aeons, for they too are moved by the spectacle of her distress: (1. 2. 4; p. 19-20) διὰ δὲ τοῦ "Ορου τούτου φασὶ κεκαθάρθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι τὴν Σοφίαν καὶ ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῇ συζυγίᾳ χωρισθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ ἐπιγενομένῳ πάθει, αὐτὴν μὲν ἐντὸς Πληρώματος μέναι, τὴν δὲ ἐνθύμησιν αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ πάθει ὑπὸ τοῦ "Ορου ἀφορισθῆναι καὶ ἀποσταυρωθῆναι καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένην εἶναι μὲν πνευματικὴν οὐσίαν, <ὡς> φυσικὴν τινα Αἰῶνος ὁρμὴν τυγχάνουσαν, ἄμορφον δὲ καὶ ἀνείδεον διὰ τὸ μηδὲν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καρπὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ θῆλυν αὐτὴν λέγουσι. (1. 3. 3; p. 28) (The healing of the woman with an issue of blood symbolized the healing of Sophia.) ἡ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα δύναμις τοῦ υἱοῦ (εἶναι δὲ ταύτην τὸν "Ορον θέλουσιν) ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐχώρισεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. (1. 3. 4; p. 29) Ἐπειτα περὶ τοῦ "Ορου αὐτῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ πλείοσιν ὀνόμασιν καλοῦσι, δύο ἐνεργείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνονται, τὴν τε ἐδραστικὴν καὶ τὴν μεριστικὴν· καὶ καθὸ μὲν ἐδράζει καὶ στηρίζει, Σταυρὸν εἶναι, καθὸ δὲ μερίζει καὶ διορίζει, "Ορον.

Hippolytus's account is very like Irenaeus's second source but restricts the functions of Horus within narrower limits, ascribing the removal of the ἔκτρωμα to Christ-Holy Spirit, while Horus merely fences it off from the sight of the Aeons and prevents it from again entering the Pleroma: (6. 31; p. 276, 35) ἐπιπροβληθεὶς οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νοῦ καὶ τῆς

Ἀληθείας, εὐθέως τὸ ἐκτρωμα . . . τοῦτο . . . ἀποχωρίζει τῶν ὄλων Αἰώνων, ἵνα μὴ βλέποντες αὐτὸ ταρασσονται διὰ τὴν ἀμορφίαν οἱ τέλειοι Αἰῶνες. Ἰν' οὖν μὴδ' ὅλως τοῖς Αἰώσι τοῖς τελείοις καταφανῇ τοῦ ἐκτρώματος ἡ ἀμορφία πάλιν καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐπιπροβάλλει Αἰῶνα ἕνα τὸν Σταυρόν, ὃς . . . εἰς φρουρὰν καὶ χαράκωμα τῶν Αἰώνων προβεβλημένος, ὁ ρ ο σ γίνεται τοῦ Πληρώματος, ἔχων ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς τριάκοντα Αἰῶνας . . . καλεῖται δὲ Ὅρος μὲν οὗτος, ὅτι ἀφορίζει ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος ἕξω τὸ ὑστέρημα . . .

The phrase 'that which was going out,' or, 'that which was about to go out,' may refer either to the offending Aeon or to her Thought or Intention only. The immediate context is in favor of the former interpretation: 'He restrained strife among the Aeons, quarreling; the one which was about to go out he expelled.' But this is incompatible with v. 8. The 'Lady' is quite certainly the Being called in other systems the second Sophia or Achamoth, and, whatever the meaning of -σουλαιν, *αθαμεσ-* can scarcely have any other meaning than 'came from' in the sense of 'is composed of.' The 'Lady' then cannot be identical with the Aeon Sophia, as was taught by Valentinus and Theodotus, but must be derived from the results of sin in the Pleroma, which is the doctrine of Irenaeus's two sources and of that used by Hippolytus.

Thus the second of the four functions ascribed by the poem to the Firmament possesses features in common with both the first and the second of Irenaeus's two sources. With the first, it conceives the offending Aeon, or her Thought, as on the point of going out of the Pleroma in search of the Father; with the second, it describes the Firmament as expelling her Thought from the Pleroma.

The significance of the third and fourth functions will not be obscure to any one familiar with Valentinian ideas. The word *leis* properly denotes the twigs or tips of the branches from which immediately spring the leaves and fruit. Here the Aeons themselves are conceived as shoots or offshoots of the *ρίζα τῶν πάντων* (Iren. 1. 1. 1; p. 9), the *ἀναρχος ρίζα* (ib. 1. 2. 1; p. 13); the 'sprays' are those portions of them, so to speak, in which growth and the other life-functions are taking place, that is to say their *προβολαί* 'emanations,' which, again, means their thoughts and in particular their thoughts about the Father.

These Sprays or Thoughts the Firmament examines and divides into two classes, those which are bearing their firstfruits and those which are corrupted and beginning to wither away.

The first contains those emanations or thoughts which are already developing into approximately true conceptions of the Father; these he 'healed'—he relieved them of whatever error was present in them and brought them into a healthy condition. A similar function was ascribed by Valentinus himself to the Holy Spirit (Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 101) καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀληθείας φησὶ προβεβλήσθαι εἰς ἀνάκρισιν καὶ καρποφορίαν τῶν Αἰώνων, ἀοράτως εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσιόν· δι' οὗ τοὺς Αἰῶνας καρποφορεῖν τὰ φύλλα⁴ τῆς ἀληθείας. The 'corrupted ones' are the emanations or thoughts which were so erroneous as to be incapable of emendation—and here the fragment ends, with no indication of their fate. But the imagery is obviously suggested by the Parable of the Vine in John 15: πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον καρπὸν, αἶρει αὐτό,⁵ καὶ πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον, καθαίρει αὐτὸ ἵνα καρπὸν πλείονα φέρῃ . . . ἕαν μὴ τις μένῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἕξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ πῦρ βάλλουσιν καὶ καίεται, and the inference is not unwarranted that the corrupted ones met with some such fate as the unfruitful branches.

Verse 8 supplies a clue for the more precise determination of their fate. For what can the 'Rejected Ones' be if not the imperfect Fruits of the corrupted and withering Sprays? The system represented by the poem differs, then, from those of Irenaeus and Hippolytus in that the 'Lady' Achamoth is composed, not of Sophia's thoughts and passions alone, but of those of all the Aeons who had sinned as she had. This, again, is a new feature. In all the systems known to us Sophia alone is responsible for the introduction of sin into the Pleroma; the other Aeons are guiltless. Here they share the guilt.

The first of the four functions ascribed to the Firmament—he restrained strife among the Aeons—must be viewed in the

⁴ Epiphanius has *φυτά*, which is accepted by both Harvey and Holl; the Latin has *folia*, i. e. *φύλλα*. That this is the true reading the poem makes extremely probable. *φυτά* implies that the Aeons are conceived as 'good ground' which bears good 'plants,' but in the poem they are conceived as 'sprays' or 'twigs' of the Abyss, and therefore can bear 'leaves,' 'blossoms,' or 'fruits,' but not 'plants.'

⁵ It is probable that the title *Καρπιστής*, attributed to Horus by Irenaeus (1. 2. 4; p. 18), refers to this function and should be translated 'Plucker.' But there are good reasons for accepting Grabe's translation 'Emancipator' (Harvey, note *ad loc.*) and therefore the point cannot be pressed.

light of these other ideas the significance of which I have been endeavoring to make clear. Strife among the Aeons is an entirely new idea; it is not mentioned in any of our sources for Valentinianism. Yet its presence in this system is exceptionally well attested. No less than three words, 'contending' (v. 6), 'strife' (v. 10), and 'quarreling' (v. 11) imply it, and it is not likely that all three are due to erroneous transliterations from Greek into Syriac.

Irenaeus's first source admits that Sophia's πάθος was shared to a certain extent by the other Aeons: (1. 2. 1; p. 13) καὶ οἱ μὲν λοιποὶ ὁμοίως Αἰῶνες ἡσυχῇ πως ἐπεπόθουν τὸν προβολέα τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀναρχὸν ῥίζαν ἱστορήσαι. In fact the πάθος originated, not with Sophia, but with Logos and Life and from them 'infected' the entire Pleroma, all the way down to Sophia, the last of the Aeons (see the text, quoted p. 17). That this implication of the other Aeons in Sophia's πάθος was a matter of moment Irenaeus sees clearly: (2. 17. 5; p. 309) *Si autem omnes (sc. Aeones) dicunt participasse passionis hujus (i. e. Sophiae) quemadmodum quidam audent dicere, quia a Logo quidem coepit, derivatio autem in Sophiam, in Logum hujus (i. e. Sophiae) [Nun Propatoris] passionem revocantes arguentur, et Nun Propatoris et ipsum Patrem in passione fuisse confitentes.* Yet the mere πάθος or desire to know the Father was not itself sinful; sin entered in when the desire led to the formation of conceptions about the Father without the assistance of Θελητός, 'Approved.' Such conceptions were necessarily erroneous and hence sinful.

In the system reported by Hippolytus the Aeons not merely desire to know the Father but actually form conceptions about him, yet without committing sin, for they conceive these thoughts κατὰ συζυγίαν: (6, 30; p. 274, 99) ἐνόησεν (sc. ἡ Σοφία) ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Αἰῶνες γεννητοὶ ὑπάρχοντες κατὰ συζυγίαν γεννώσιν, ὃ δὲ Πατὴρ μόνος ἄζυγος ἐγέννησεν. Sophia's sin consisted in the fact that she (274, 2) ἠθέλησε μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ γεννῆσαι καθ' ἑαυτὴν δίχα τοῦ συζύγου, ἵνα μηδὲν ᾗ ἔργον ὑποδεέστερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰργασμένη.

Marcus also teaches that each Aeon has a conception of the Father and adds the further details that each conceives the Father after his own likeness and has no knowledge of the conceptions formed by any other, but imagines his own to be an adequate representation of the Whole. (It should be remem-

bered that in Marcus's system each Aeon is represented as a Letter, the thirty Letters constituting a Λόγος which was τοῦ Ἀοράτου μορφή.) (Iren. 1. 14, 1; p. 130) ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἴδια γράμματα καὶ ἴδιον χαρακτήρα καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκφώνησιν καὶ σχήματα καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχειν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι ὃ τὴν ἐκείνου καθορᾶ μορφήν οὐπερ αὐτὸ στοιχείον ἐστίν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γινώσκειν⁶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μὴν τὴν τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον ἐκφώνησιν γίνωσκειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκφωνεῖ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ἐκφωνοῦντα, τὸ ὅλον ἡγείσθαι ὀνομάζειν.

These three closely related theories are probably later and emended forms of an earlier doctrine, no doubt that of Valentinus himself, which was retained with little change in the system represented by the poem. This earlier doctrine may be reconstructed somewhat as follows.

All the Aeons not only desired to know the Father but also actually formed conceptions of him, each after his own likeness. All of these conceptions were, in a sense, true, for each Aeon is an aspect or attribute or manifestation of the Father, indeed Valentinus seems to have taught that they were constituents of the Divine Consciousness: (Tert. *adv. Val.* c. 4, p. 181 Kroymann *CSEL* vol. 47, pt. 3) *eam (viam) postmodum Ptolomaeus intravit, nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa diuinitatis ut sensus et affectus motus incluserat.*⁷ But no one of them was an adequate expression of the Divine Being as a Whole; such an expression could be found only in all, collectively, which totality constituted the 'Pleroma' or 'Fulness' of God. But they were not content thus to possess each only a partial knowledge of the Father; each claimed to possess a complete and adequate knowledge of him and denied

⁶ The reading γινώσκειν is that of Hippolytus and is supported by the Latin (*sed ne quidem proximi ejus unumquodque enuntiationem scire*). Epiphanius, according to Dindorf (Holl's second volume in which this passage would be found is not yet published), reads πολιορκεῖ, for which Dindorf substitutes the πλεονεκτεῖ of the parallel passage, *Epitome*, p. 365, 12, rejecting (vol. 3, p. 666) the evidence of Hippolytus and the Latin for reasons which seem to me inadequate. Harvey reads γινώσκειν.

⁷ K reads *affectus <et> motus*, which yields no clear idea. How can the Aeons be conceived as 'motions' distinct from conscious states? Tert. is using a Greek idiom, perhaps following a Greek source—ὡς αἰσθήσεως καὶ πάθους κινήσεις, 'as being excitations of perception and of emotion' within the Godhead.

the validity of all conceptions except his own. Hence arose among them rivalry, strife, and even unseemly bickering and quarreling. Moreover, not content with the conceptions of the Father afforded by the constitution of their own natures, they sought to overstep these divinely appointed limits and to conceive of the Father as at once transcending all possible conceptions and yet capable of being comprised within such conceptions. From such attempts nothing could result except error and confusion of mind. And Sophia, the youngest and lowest of all, was the worst offender among them, for Sophia represents at once the Wisdom of God as expressed in the organization of the material universe and the 'wisdom' of man, what the Greeks called *σοφία* or *φιλοσοφία*, which consists chiefly in thorough knowledge of the material universe, and of all conceptions of God none are so inadequate and erroneous as those which are derived from material things.

One can readily see that such a theory as this, which represented the very Godhead as torn asunder by jealousy and strife, would give no little offence and would speedily be modified. The three extant theories are most easily explained as attempts to meet the difficulties raised by the original doctrine. Ptolemy, for the theories contained in Irenaeus's first and second sources are quite certainly different forms of the teachings current among his followers, held that no Aeon save Sophia formed any conception of the Father at all until instructed by Christ-Holy Spirit.⁸

The source used by Hippolytus taught that, although all the Aeons conceived thoughts of the Father, all except Sophia did so in the divinely appointed way, through conjugal union, and therefore none of their 'offspring' was 'shapeless,' that is, erroneous.

Marcus declares that no Aeon had any knowledge whatever of the thought of God entertained by any other, from which it


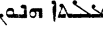
⁸ Tertullian, indeed, does charge Sophia with jealousy of Nous (*adv. Val.* c. 9, p. 187, 15 Kr.: *sed enim sub praetexto dilectionis in patrem aemulatio superabat in Nun, solum de patre gaudentem*). But there is no reason to suppose that Tertullian had any better ground for it than his own malicious fancy; the Latin version of Irenaeus, which Tertullian probably had before him, has, like the Greek original, not 'jealousy' but 'presumption,' *temeritatis*.

would follow that there could be no rivalry and strife between them.

Yet these various revisions were not so thorough as to obliterate all traces of the original theory. Hippolytus alone describes at any length the 'tumult' of emotion which convulsed the Aeons when they beheld Sophia's plight; according to him it was composed of sympathy for Sophia and fear lest a similar fate should befall them and their offspring: (6. 31; p. 274, 18) *γενομένης οὖν ἐντὸς Πληρώματος ἀγνοίας κατὰ τὴν Σοφίαν καὶ ἀμορφίας κατὰ τὸ γέννημα τῆς Σοφίας, θόρυβος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Πληρώματι οἱ Αἰῶνες οἱ γεόμενοι* [1. τοῖς Αἰῶσι οἰκτιζομένοις?] *ὅτι παραπλησίως ἀμορφα καὶ ἀτελῇ γενήσεται τῶν Αἰώνων τὰ γενήματα καὶ φθορά τις καταλήψεται οὐκ εἰς μακράν ποτε τοὺς Αἰῶνας.* Yet in his account of the reconstitution of the Pleroma Hippolytus lays especial weight upon the restoration of 'peace,' 'concord,' 'unity,' and 'unanimity' among the Aeons: (6. 32; p. 278, 62) *ἐπεὶ οὖν μία τις ἦν εἰρήνη καὶ συμφωνία πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Πληρώματος Αἰώνων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον κατὰ συζυγίαν δεδοξακέναι αὐτόν, δοξάσαι <δὲ> καὶ διὰ προσφορᾶς καρπῶν πρεπόντων τῷ Πατρί. πάντες οὖν ἡυδόκησαν οἱ τριάκοντα Αἰῶνες ἓνα προβαλεῖν Αἰῶνα, κοινὸν τοῦ Πληρώματος καρπὸν ἔν' ᾧ τῆς ἐνοτῆτος αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὁμοφροσύνης καὶ εἰρήνης.* But these ideas surely imply preceding strife, discord, disunion, and disagreement. Even more clearly do these tell-tale traits betray their presence in Irenaeus's account, according to which the process of reconstitution consisted chiefly in the obliteration of all distinction between the several Aeons, by virtue of which each became identical with all the others: (1. 2. 6; p. 22) *τὸ δὲ [ἐν] Πνεύμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξισωθέντας αὐτοὺς πάντας εὐχαριστεῖν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν <εἰς> ἡγήσατο. οὕτως τε μορφῇ καὶ γνώμῃ ἴσοις κατασταθῆναι τοὺς Αἰῶνας λέγουσι, πάντας γενομένους Νόας καὶ πάντας Λόγους καὶ πάντας Ἀνθρώπους καὶ πάντας Χριστοὺς, καὶ τὰς θηλείας ὁμοίως πάντας Ἀληθείας καὶ πάσας Ζωὰς καὶ Πνεύματα καὶ Ἐκκλησίας.* What can this mean except that the differences between them were the chief causes of the disorder?

The twelfth Ode of Solomon also bears marks of this revision:

- 7b For he (the Word) was Light and the dawning of Thought,
8 And the Ages through him talked one with another,
To speech came those that were silent;⁹

⁹ 1. 8b: read *οοσι*  *οοσι*  *οοσι* The first *οοσι* is here equivalent to *ἐγένοντο*, the second to *ἤσαν*.

- 9 And from him came Love and Equality,
 and they told one another what they had,
 And they were penetrated by the Word,
10 and they knew him that made them,
 because they were in equality.

Whether the 'Ages' or 'Worlds' here are Aeons or Spirits is irrelevant; the picture is at all events suggested by the Valentinian model and the author uses such elements of it as suit his purpose. The Logos plays the part of the Celestial Light of the poem, and he also *is* Light. The Ages correspond to the Aeons; they receive 'equality' as in Irenaeus and 'love' as in Hippolytus. But there is no intimation of strife; rather does it seem that before the advent of the Logos the Ages were dumb, incapable of communicating or of receiving an idea, which is analogous to the conception of Marcus that no Aeon knows anything of the thought of any other. But when the Logos gave them the gift of speech each communicated to the others his conception of God; thus all were brought into love and equality, 'and they knew him that made them because they were in equality'—for each now possesses all the conceptions of the Father entertained in the Pleroma and the sum of them all constitutes all that can be known of him. And this also is Marcus's doctrine.

Disconnected as the ideas of the poem are, it is possible to reconstruct out of them the author's theory of the origin of sin and his conception of the early stages of the process which is to end in sin's annihilation. Each Aeon was an individual expression or attribute of the Transcendent Reality. Each conceived his Source in his own likeness, each asserted that his own conception and no other was at once true and adequate, whence arose jealousy, bickering, and strife. Sophia went far beyond all the others, so far that her Thought was on the point of going out of the Pleroma and losing itself in the Abyss. Then it was that the Celestial Light was emanated. He diffused himself throughout every Region or Aeon, bringing with him information about the Father which he had received from the Head or Source, that is Nous. In this way, and no doubt in others, such as are described by Irenaeus, he showed kindness to the Aeons. The Celestial Firmament is not an Aeon absolutely independent of all others. As Christ is a cloud of dazzling

Light invading the Pleroma and spreading throughout it, so is the Firmament the advancing Boundary (*ὄρος*) of this Light, which, when the Light has filled the entire Pleroma, becomes identical with the boundary of the Pleroma itself. Thus its, or rather his, functions are merely aspects of the functions of the Light. In general it was to restrain strife among the Aeons—not necessarily to put a stop to all rivalry, but to bring it within proper limits. This he did in three steps. First he expelled from the Pleroma that Thought or Intention of Sophia's which had presumed to try to break its bounds. Second, every Spray or Shoot or Thought about the Father which was producing its firstfruits, that is, issuing in an approximately true conception, he healed—brought to a state of health and perfection. For such a Thought is itself light and the advent of the Light will still further illumine and strengthen it. Third, every Spray which is not bearing such fruit but is incurably corrupted and on the point of withering away he no doubt cut off and cast out of the Pleroma. In the outer Darkness and Void Sophia's Thought and all the other erroneous and rejected Thoughts coalesced into a murky and seething mass, composed almost wholly of Ignorance and frenzied Passions. This is what some Valentinians called 'Achamoth,' what this author calls 'the Lady who came from Rejected Ones.' To her the Celestial Light showed mercy, no doubt as in Irenaeus's second source by permitting some measure of his radiance to shine through Horus in order to penetrate into and become part of her consciousness.

One at least of the new doctrines presented by the poem, that which derives Achamoth from all the Aeons, can be identified with considerable confidence as the teaching of Secundus, the pupil of Valentinus.

Of Secundus nothing is known except the little told by Irenaeus and Hippolytus. These two accounts are almost identical and it is obvious that Hippolytus is either copying Irenaeus or drawing from the same source—supposed to be the lost *Σύνταγμα* of Justin Martyr. Tertullian, Epiphanius, Pseudo-Tertullian, Filaster, and Theodoretus give more or less distorted reproductions of this same account; no one of them possesses any independent source of information.

Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 101:

Secundus autem

primam ogdoadem sic tradidit, dicens: quaternationem esse dextram et quaternationem sinistram, et lumen et tenebras; et discedentem autem <et> destitutam virtutem, non a triginta Aeonibus dicit fuisse, sed a fructibus eorum.

Hipp. 6. 38; p. 292, 94:

Σεκοῦνδος μὲν τις κατὰ τὸ

αὐτὸ ἅμα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γενόμενος, οὕτως λέγει·

τετράδα εἶναι δεξιὰν καὶ τετράδα ἀριστεράν, καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος·

καὶ τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ ὑστερήσαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν.

The first statement, that Secundus divided the First Ogdoad into two Tetrads, a Right and a Left, Light and Darkness, has no bearing upon any of the ideas of the poem and therefore need not now be discussed.

The second statement is ambiguous. Its more obvious meaning would be: 'The Power which deserted and failed was derived not from the Thirty Aeons but from their Fruits.'

It is in this sense that Tertullian, whose sole source is Irenaeus, understands it (*adv. Val. c. 38, p. 211, 11 Kroymann*): . . . *tantum quod desultricem et defectricem illam virtutem non vult ab aliquo deducere Aeonum sed a fructibus de substantia uenientibus*.¹⁰ This interpretation would distinguish the theory of Secundus both from that of Valentinus and Theodotus, which made Achamoth a fallen Aeon, and from that of Ptolemy and others, which made her the fruit of an Aeon, in that it makes her the offspring of the fruits of Aeons, which fruits in turn came from the substance of the Aeons, thus placing her in the third instead of the second generation from the Pleroma.

It is possible, however, to take ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. in a less obvious sense as nearly equivalent to a partitive genitive (Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Gramm. d. gr. Spr.* 3d ed. 3. p. 457), in which case the meaning would be: 'The Power which revolted and failed was not (any one) of the Thirty Aeons but was (one or

¹⁰ Kroymann adopts the MS reading *ueniant*, upon which he remarks: *ueniant PMF, uenientibus Pam(elius); non sequor quia nec ex Irenaeo hic deficiente nec ex interprete nec ex Epiphanio emendandi rationem accipio*. Pamelius's emendation is quite satisfactory; the fact that neither the Latin nor Epiphanius throws any light upon the passage is not surprising, for there is every reason for supposing that this is one of Tertullian's innumerable glosses upon Irenaeus's text.

more) of their Fruits.' If this be the meaning, the negative assertion distinguishes Secundus's theory from that of Valentinus, but the positive does not clearly distinguish it from that of Ptolemy, for he also held that Achamoth was the Fruit of an Aeon. It is in this sense that Ps.-Tert. understands it (*adv. omn. haer.* c. 4, p. 221, 12 Kroymann): *Post hunc extiterunt Ptolomaeus et Secundus haeretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt, in illo solo differunt: nam cum Valentinus Aeonas tantum triginta finxisset, isti addiderunt alios complures; quatuor enim primum, deinde alios quatuor adgregauerunt. et quod dicit Valentinus Aeonem tricesimum excessisse de Pleromate, ut in defectionem, negant isti: non enim ex illa triacontada fuisse hunc, qui fuerit in defectione propter desiderium uidendi propatoris.*

Epiphanius's paraphrase is even more obscure than the original, but it would seem that he also takes ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. as equivalent to a partitive genitive (*haer.* 32. 1. 6; p. 439, 13 Holl): τὴν δὲ ἀποστᾶσαν τε καὶ ὑστερήσαν ἀνάμιν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα Αἰώνας, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ὀγδοᾶ τὴν ἄλλην κατωτέρω γενομένων,¹¹—'not of the Thirty Aeons but after the Thirty Aeons, in the sense of being of the (emanations) which came into existence on a lower (plane) after the Second Ogdoad.' According to all sources save one the Second Ogdoad is itself the offspring of Achamoth; this makes Achamoth the offspring of the Second Ogdoad. The sole exception is the Valentinian document which quotes this Syriac poem. In it mention is made of a Second Ogdoad derived directly from the First. It is composed (*Epiph. haer.* 31. 6. 2; p. 393, 5 Holl) of the 'males' Μόνος, Τρίτος, Πέμπτος, Ἑβδομος, and the 'females' Δυάς, Τετράς, Ἑξάς, Ὀγδοάς, and seems to be identical with the Μεσότης (*ib.* 31. 6. 9; p. 395, 9). There is unfortunately nothing in the document to determine the relations of these emanations to Achamoth. It is possible that Epiphanius is here drawing from that portion of the document which he has not copied, yet

¹¹ Holl reads ἀπὸ τῶν <καρπῶν αὐτῶν τῶν> μετὰ τὴν κτλ. While this emendation does not materially affect the sense, the MS reading is preferable; ἀπὸ τῶν . . . γενομένων is Epiphanius's paraphrase of ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. For γενομένων the MSS have γενομένην, again without materially affecting the sense.

in his own sketch of the Valentinian doctrine, presumably based upon that document, he derives the Second Ogdoad from the ὑστέρημα in the usual way (31. 4. 2; p. 388, 2).

Returning to Irenaeus's text: while both these interpretations are admissible, the context is distinctly in favor of the second. For this paragraph follows immediately after a sketch of the doctrine of Valentinus in the course of which Irenaeus says (1. 11. 1; p. 100): ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δώδεκα (sc. δυνάμεις λέγει προβεβλησθαι) ὧν μίαν ἀποστασαν καὶ ὑστερήσαν τὴν λοιπὴν πραγματείαν πεποιῆσθαι. The sketch concludes: *haec quidem ille; Secundus autem*, etc., from which it is manifest that when he proceeds to say of the same δύναμις in Secundus's system that it was not ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων, he means to distinguish Secundus's doctrine from that of Valentinus; ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. then is equivalent to a partitive genitive. In like manner ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν must mean 'of' or 'among their Fruits,' that is, 'is identical with some of their Fruits.' But this is the doctrine of the poem.

The interpretation which I have above given of the poem rests entirely upon the reading μεσσουλαῖν. The emendations which yield the alternatives μεσσουλαν and μεσσουλιαν are simple, defensible, and would bring the doctrine of the poem into line with that of Ptolemy. Indeed, all my earlier attempts at interpretation proceeded upon the assumption that some such emendation was necessary; it was not until experience had proved that the fewer the emendations the better the sense that I reluctantly tried to make sense of μεσσουλαῖν. The above interpretation of the poem's doctrine had been reasoned out from the text and written out substantially as it now stands before I observed that Irenaeus's statement of Secundus's theory could be taken as expressing the same thought, and when I did observe it, it seemed to me, and still seems, a striking confirmation of the reading.

The poem manifestly presupposes on the part of the reader a knowledge of the system of thought which underlies it and should be regarded as essentially a hymn of praise, designed to stimulate devotional feeling. Since the first stanza glorifies the saving work of the Celestial Light and the second that of the Celestial Firmament, one may infer that a third sang the praises of the Σωτήρ who descended from the Pleroma to deliver

Achamoth from despair and initiate the construction of the material universe, and a fourth those of Jesus who descended to earth to bring salvation to mankind. Whether the poem contained more than four stanzas must remain undetermined.

To the author and precise date of the poem there is no clue. The fact that it preserves one of the doctrines of Secundus does not prove that Secundus wrote it; in fact, since nothing is known of Secundus's nationality, it is not known whether he wrote in Syriac or not. One naturally thinks first of Bardaisan, the Syrian Valentinian, to whose authorship the hymns used in the denomination which he founded were popularly ascribed, or of his son Harmonius, who, according to Sozomen (*HE* 3. 16), 'had, people say, a Greek education and was the first to adapt his mother tongue to meters and rules of music' (*ὅν φασι διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι λόγων ἀχθέντα πρῶτον μέτροις καὶ νόμοις μουσικοῖς τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ὑπαγαγεῖν*). But the poem contains nothing known to be characteristic of Bardaisan or of his school, and in the hundred and fifty years or so which elapsed between the death of Bardaisan and the appearance of the poem in the pages of Epiphanius there is ample time for the composition of many hymns by Syrian Valentinians. The only other Syrian Valentinian known by name is Axionicus, a contemporary of Tertullian (*adv. Val.* c. 4; p. 181, 12 Kr.: *solus ad hodiernum Antiochiaë Axionicus memoriam Valentini integra custodia regularum eius consolatur*), but there is little ground for attributing the poem to him. If, as seems probable, the source used by Hippolytus was the work of Axionicus,¹² the

¹² Hippolytus's main account of Valentinianism (6. 29-36) is a coherent exposition of a single system, obviously based upon a written source to which he makes frequent allusions, and with occasional digressions in which he compares variant forms of these doctrines with those which he is expounding. In the course of this exposition and as an integral part of it occurs (c. 35) the doctrine that the body of Jesus was composed of spiritual substance, emanated by Sophia and molded by the Demiurge. This gives occasion for the remark that the Valentinians are divided upon this issue, that the Italian school, to which belong Heracleon and Ptolemy, hold that Jesus' body was psychic and that the spiritual element did not enter it until his baptism, while the Eastern school, to which belong Axionicus and 'Ardesianes'—no doubt Bardaisan—hold that it was spiritual. The doctrine is then restated in almost the same words as have already been used, although more briefly. It is somewhat more than a fair

poem cannot possibly be his, for the system there expounded is very different from that of the poem. One may, perhaps, infer from the form and character of the poem the existence of an audience instructed in the doctrines of the system which it represents and capable of appreciating its allusions—possibly a congregation which used such hymns in its liturgy, as the Bardaisanian churches certainly did. This would indicate a later rather than an earlier date for its composition. But the primitive type of its doctrine forbids its assignment to the latest developments of Valentinian speculation; it is probably not later than the middle of the third century and may well be earlier.

The relation of the poem to the document in which it is quoted involves so many and such difficult problems that it cannot be discussed here. One may, however, observe that the words with which it is introduced—*βούλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς γινώσκειν*—imply that the author is in full agreement with the doctrine of the poem.

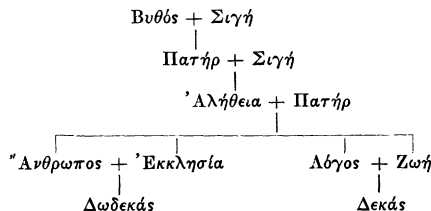
These same words suggest an explanation of Epiphanius's strange mistake—and very strange it is that 'Father Epiphanius of the five tongues,' as he is called by Jerome (c. *Rufinum*, 3. 6; Migne, 23, col. 462: *Pater Epiphanius πεντάγλωσσος*), who credits him with a knowledge of Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian, and some Latin (*op. cit.* 2. 22; M. col. 446), a native of Palestine and even alleged to be of Jewish birth and upbringing, should have mistaken a Syriac poem for a list of names. What little Syriac Epiphanius knew he probably knew, as do most of us, through the eye only, not through ear or tongue, and hence the words in their Greek dress conveyed at first glance no meaning to his mind and no hint of the language which they represented. On the other hand, the portentous introduction—'I wish you to know'—addressed as it is to the Perfect Ones, suggested a Secret, and completely misled him. Among all practitioners of Holy Magic (*ἱεραργία, θεουργία*), such as many Gnostics certainly were, the most highly prized secret was knowledge of the hidden Names, for he that possessed it could make the beings designated by those Names his servants and compel them

inference that the source which Hippolytus is using was the work of either Axionicus or Bardaisan—presumably of Axionicus, since he is given the precedence.

to do his bidding. These Names were usually strange combinations of vowels and consonants, of barbarous appearance to the Greek eye, and the good Father saw before him a column or list of just such words. What more natural than the inference, what more pleasing than the thought, that he had detected and could now make public the very Secret of secrets, the very Secret which the detestable heretics would most dislike to have exposed? Moreover, the Valentinians grouped their spiritual beings in pairs; the lines of the column, or sub-divisions of the list, nearly all contained just two words each—then the first fifteen lines must contain the names of the Thirty Aeons! And this is the reason why he transcribed just fifteen lines of the poem and no more, thus preserving for us one complete stanza and only seven of the eight verses of the second.

That Epiphanius did in fact derive his notions of Valentinian doctrine from such a column or list he virtually tells us himself, *Panar.* 31. 2. 6; p. 384, 22 Holl: ὅρα δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀγύρτου τετραγυδημένην μυθοποιίαν καὶ μοχθηρὰν διδασκαλίαν. τριάκοντα γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἔφην, αἰῶνας βούλεται παριστᾶν, οὓς καὶ θεοὺς ὀνομάζει, δεκαπέντε ἄρρενας καὶ θηλείας τοσαύτας εἶναι λέγων. ἕκαστον δὲ αἰῶνα ἄρρενόθηλυν καὶ ζεῦγός φησιν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ· δεκαπέντε δὲ δυνάδας φασὶν εἶναι, ὥς συζυγίας καλοῦσι. τὸν ἀριθμὸν δὲ εἶναι τριάκοντα αἰῶνας, ἐκάστην δὲ θήλειαν γεννᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος τοὺς καθεξῆς αἰῶνας· κτλ.

Where did Epiphanius get the idea that each female Aeon 'generates from the male the succeeding Aeons'? It is, of course, not true in any Valentinian system; that it was not true in this system he would have perceived if he had taken the trouble to read the document before his eyes in which the genealogy of the Aeons is given as follows:—



I think the most probable explanation is that he mistook the column of verses for a genealogical table, in which each pair

was the progenitor of the next and so of all the subsequent pairs.

This same hypothesis, that Epiphanius had before him what he supposed to be a list arranged column-wise, explains his hitherto inexplicable repetition of the list. The passage above quoted proceeds: εἶναι δὲ τοὺτους ὡς ὑποτέτακται, κατὰ ἀντιπαράθεσιν ἑκάστου ἀρρενικοῦ ὀνόματος τεταγμένου ἀντικρυς τοῦ θηλυκοῦ ὀνόματος [i. e. he writes them in a double column] καὶ ἔστιν· [here follows the list]. καὶ οὕτως μὲν σύγκεινται ὡς κατὰ συζυγίαν ἀρρενοθήλεος [i. e. the above arrangement exhibits the Aeons in connubial union as fifteen bisexual beings], ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ κατὰ διαδοχὴν οὕτως [i. e. to exhibit them in sequence and due succession as thirty individual beings they should be arranged as follows; the list is then repeated unchanged. No doubt Epiphanius in his original MS arranged them either in a single column or simply in line as we now have them]. ὧν ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνεαί εἰσιν αἷδε· Βυθὸς καὶ Σιγή, Νοῦς καὶ Ἀλήθεια [and so on, the thirty Greek names being given in fifteen pairs]. κατὰ δὲ ἀριθμὸν διαδοχῆς καὶ ἀκολουθίας [i. e. but to exhibit the number of the Aeons contained in this succession and sequence] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωτάτου ἀκατονομάστου Πατρὸς καὶ Βυθοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζομένου ἕως τούτου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐρανοῦ ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸς οὕτως ἔχει [the same list follows, but the names are not linked in pairs by *kai*'s]. When the copyists disregarded the differences of arrangement by which Epiphanius sought to represent the distinction between fifteen bisexual beings and the thirty individual Aeons, the first two lists became indistinguishable.